finding act, which was then passed, ten millions of dollars were set aside annually for the purpose of liquidating the between the same as if they had passed a lose of the purpose of liquidating the between the same as if they had passed a lose of the purpose of liquidating the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the purpose of liquidating the same as if they had passed a lose of the purpose of liquidating the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had not all the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if they had not all the interest always on her bonds with a suppose a road would be more "necessary and proper" to the destinance of the same as if they had not all the interest always on her bonds with the same as if they had passed a lose of the same as if the first which that as which the same as if they had not all the interest always on her bonds with the same as if the first which that as bound the lose of the same as of the defined as a bundle to the same as if the first which that as which the same as if the first which had set of the same as of the first which that as whether you would the base of the same as of the first which tha of the Chief of the Linited States were met. Now, while that debt was in the process of being paid—while the Government of the United States were discharging ten millions of the public debt annually with reference to the residuum that should remain in the gardenance of the United States being over the mark in this particular, if as the united States being over th

millions of dollars, which went to bring about a state of excitement in this country, of speculation, of financial derangement, that finally terminated in a convulsion which shook not merely the Government of this country, but all its industrial

United States, that by the veto of the then President of the ly tell the amount. The ability of this nation would of internal improvements, the country was saved from being involved in such a debt as he has estimated-a declaration coming from authority so high and respectable as that of the President of the United States is calculated, among the honest therefore moved that the House adjourn. people of this country, to create a prejudice not merely against he system of internal improvements, but against those who then contemplated the appropriation of a portion of the revenues of this country for country, do I desire to take notice of it, and to say there is not, there never was a party in this House who contemplated to carry out the system of internal improvements by borrowing money and plunging the country into debt. I know of no gentleman on this floor who has been a more uniform friend less than a denial by the Executive of the right of this Govgenteman on this floor who has been a more uniform friend of internal improvements than myself, and yet I never have seen the day when I would have voted appropriations for this system that would have added to the debt of the United States, or rather I have never seen the day when I would have raised of this subject. It had been reserved to the present President a loan for the purpose of carrying on internal improvements. Nor do I believe there is any such party. My view of the system of internal improvements is this: I would keep up the country not merely among ourselves but with foreign nations.

the gentleman from Ohio was, after he had replied to some portions of that message, that they should patiently wait and permit the reply to go forth before they sent the mes-He was not apprized of the course of legislation or the danger? t was usual to take with messages of this description, but it would seem to him that another motion other than that which because this power might be abused. The same objection that proposition; and the gentleman from Pennsylvania and been made would be the proper one under the circum stances in which they were placed. If he understood this aright, it was a message from the President of the United States There was no power possessed by this Government that might obliged to differ from both these gentlemen. I doubt giving his reasons why he had refused his assent to a bill of the not be abused by had men; the remedy for this is in the hands consideration should be given to this paper, any more that session of Congress; and, in the first place, any discuss of the people. Debt was the objection raised by the President we would dignify in that way any other argument made sion of it before they had had an opportunity to read and understand it would be out of place. It seemed to him, therefore, that the motion should be to lay it upon the table and print it. That would be the proper motion to make on this occasion, and not to allow a reply to go forth before the message itself had been published to the country and understood ment of by the House. It could not be concealed that its contents would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from day to day, and that replies would be examined from the following the followi be made to it by the advocates of internal improvements on than provided to the this floor. Already evidence had been furnished of the readiness of gentlemen to place themselves in opposition to the po- making power. aitions assumed in the message, and perhaps he should not be of peace and war, but in the message just read he arrogates wrong in saying that there would be fifty replies to it on this floor, whence they would soon be sent to every corner of the and no further land. Why, then, need they withhold the message until an argument in opposition to it should be sent to the country from a committee. The remarks of the gentleman from Ohio would this Government! A power which he affirmed was as clear not be withheld from the country, for they were already on and unquestionable as any other exercised by this Government the Reporter's tables. Let then the message be printed. Let the whole go forth to the country with all the replies which REETT,) who denied the possession of this power, where he

at that time, and that there was no party here that was in express, but incidental only to the war making power

object. It was supposed that the great interests of the country that its industry would not be at so great a charge as feature that this ten million dollars annually raised for that purpose that this ten million dollars annually raised for that purpose that this ten million dollars annually raised for that purpose that this ten million dollars annually raised for that purpose that this ten million dollars annually raised for that purpose that this ten million dollars annually raised for that purpose that this ten million dollars annually raised for that purpose that the million dollars annually raised for that purpose the description of the second place there was better local information who was not able to judge of the should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal improvements of the country in the sinking flowers and annually raised for that purpose the should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal improvement of the should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal improvements of the country in the sinking flowers and understand the formal improvements of the country in the sinking flowers and understand the formal improvements to the purpose of the country in the sinking flowers and understand the register of the dollars annually raised for that purpose the should be spent in the should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal improvements of the country in the sinking flowers and understand the flowers and understand to the purpose of the country in the sinking flowers and understand the flowers and understand to be purposed to the purpose of the country in the sinking flowers and understand the flowers and understand the flowers and understand to be purposed to the purpose of the country in the sinking flowers and understand the flowers and understand the flowers and understand the flowers and understand the flowers and understan object. It was supposed that the great interests of the country—that its industry would not be at so great a charge as that this ten million dollars annually raised for that purpose should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. It is true, the friends of internal should at once be closed up. be in the place of it an enormous increase in the ordinary exsenditures of the Government.

against extravagance in the States.

But, more than all, there was a restraint upon the State

penditures of the Government.

Now, it so happened that just at the moment when this Legislatures which did not exist the General Government—
Legislatures which did not exist the General Government. national debt was paid off, the Executive of the United States direct taxation. In the States the representative who voted thought proper—at the very instant when the nation had greater ability than it had ever had before—the Executive of it be done but by direct taxation. And they all knew with the United States thought proper to lay his hand upon that what terror a representative in any of the States would return the United States thought proper to lay his hand upon that branch of appropriations and to arrest it. And, sir, what followed, when that veto, which is alluded to in the present message of the President of the United States, was sent to the House. It was at a time when this Government was in the receipt of a large surplus revenue. The result of omitting to make any disposition of this sinking fund was, in the first place, largely to swell the expenditures and extravagance of the Government itself. That was the first result. The next consequence was, that in the course of two or three years an open that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on whom he had voted to lay taxation in the secret taxation in that form. However they might be deluded by arguments to a constituency on consequence was, that in the course of two or three years an There were also local interests combined with the tariff inte accumulation of about forty millions of surplus was found to rest, and all representatives from the portions of the country the in the Treasury of the United States, locked up. Forty that were to be benefited by the application of the money millions of dollars, which went to bring about a state of exexisting in the States. But if they went on here to the verge of

bankruptey, what would be the condition of the country?

He said when he rose that he did not intend to go into an interests to their very centre. Now, suppose, instead of the accumulation of this forty millions of dollars in the Treasury gentleman from Ohio (Mr. VINTON) on one point; and on of the United States—which was loaned out liberally all over that point suppose such a purpose as the gentleman indicated the country, going to inflate and expand its currency, and had existed in Congress at that time; suppose there was no swell its business-suppose that 'ten millions of dollars had disposition to expend more money than the available balance been annually appropriated to the improvement of your rivers and harbors: that it had been paid out over this country to the toiling millions," (to use the language of the President,) resist it? No: they would have contracted a debt, but they for their labor and the materials that would have been neces-sary for these great public works, what would have been the experience of the country since? During the last It would have relieved your Treasury from session of Congress, in a time of war, when the Government this penalty; it would not, as has been argued by the President of the United States—it would not have involved this a time at which it was predicted in all quarters that we could country in a debt; it would have saved the country from the not raise the money except at a great sacrifice, with the tariff convulsion that followed. Sir, that would have been the of 1846 in existence-under such circumstances, by a large effect of permitting that system, which was then wisely estab-lished, to have taken its course. But, sir, instead of that, in-to the amount of a million and a half of dollars. He repeat to the amount of a million and a half of dollars. He repeatstead of these moneys being appropriated in that mode, spreading their benefits over the country, enlarging the commerce of the country, building up your defences—instead of that, we bills of this sort could be passed, he would ask what, when the pressure of war was passed, would be the end of all know where it went to, and what was the consequence.

Now, in reference to that declaration of the President of the catravagance that would follow? Figures would scarce-United States, and the arresting the then contemplated system stretched to its utmost tension, and it would be scarcely suf-

ficient. Mr. STEWART, of Pennsylvania, said it was not likely

The motion was not agreed to.

Mr. STEWART suggested to the gentleman from Illinois to withdraw his proposition to refer to the Committee on Comthat purpose. Mainly for this reason | merce, and substitute a motion for a special committee. He (said Mr. B.) before that false impression shall go out to the thought the subject was of sufficient importance to justify system of internal improvements is this: I would keep up the military, naval, and civil establishments of the country; if there was any surplus remaining I would devote it to internal himself sanctioned appropriations which he now denounces as improvements. And I mean harbors on the seaboard as well as on the takes; improvements on the exterior as well as the President to break down and destroy one of the most importinterior : I would devote it to those purposes that would facili- an' and valuable powers conferred by the constitution on Contate intercommunication; that would build up the trade of the gress—the power of improvement; the power to improve the when some gentleman from this side of the House, my neigh-And, sir, all the argument which is so elaborated by the President of the United States, who congratulates, or seems to congratulate, the country on having escaped from being involved in a debt that would not have been discharged—it is volved in a debt that would not have been discharged—it is interior of the country. He asked gentlemen who represent the way, that it "was something which would act all an error, all a delusion. And it arose from the fact that the interior of the country and the great West, the country of House, though!" I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, but all an error, all a delusion. And it arose from the fact that the interior of the country and the great West, the country of the the interior of the country of the public money, which was taken from all alike, to be made the public money, which was taken from all alike, to be made the public money, which was taken from all alike, to be made the public money, which was taken from all alike, to be made the public money, which was taken from all alike, to be made the public money, which was taken from all alike, to be made to the districts from which it comes, if this power is to be deshould go to the Committee on Commerce before it was print.

The great West, the country of the country of the interior of the country and the great West, the country of the interior of the country and the great West, the country of the interior of ed, and when it was printed that the message itself and the reply to it should go out together to the people of this country to the Atlantic, but destroy the means which alone could carry it back again and the country. My constituents, and all the people in the great carry to the Atlantic, but destroy the means which alone could carry it back again and the country. try, so that there might be fairfulay, and that all who read may have an opportunity to see both sides of this question before they formed their opinion upon it.

diffuse it, like the fertilizing showers, over the whole country interior of the country, will be dissatisfied if not astonished by Our navy, with its shipvards, wereon the seaboard; our forts and fortifications and light-houses are all on the seaboard; and here we have the explanation; the President was holding back Mr. HARALSON did not rise to reply to the remarks of all other sources of expenditure by this (rovernment were to throw in his argument against these great interests when it the gentleman from Ohio; for, if he understood that gentleman now in Mexico and other foreign lands; and, according to this subject at this hour would be this message, the interior of the country was to be severed the bill of last session, which he refused to approve, the out of place. They were necessarily very much in the dark, from the benefits of all national disbursements, now and forfor no gentleman could fully understand the positions taken in
ever. He wished gentlemen from the West to tell him how
These are the orders from the palace. But w the message, and consequently could not properly make them any part of the money collected by this Government can be the subject of discussion in this House. But the proposition of expended in the interior, if the power of internal improvement royal behest? Will it "act" upon them? We shall be the subject of discussion in this House.

the Government to the present hour, and where was the debt volunteered in the course of this debate, I am not entirely vas danger in making appropriations to build fortifications | der and report upon it. My colleague (Mr. VINTOS) might be made to appropriations for the army and the navy, for they too might be abused and debts might be contracted.

Stewart) suggests that such a committee should constor they too might be abused and debts might be contracted. ted to the prosecution of a war which the Presi- be sure that it will at once be made public thro The President not only assumes all powers of But where was the danger of debts, con-

gentlemen may think proper to make. With these views he got the power to build forte and fortifications, and to cast can roved to lay the message on the table, and that it be printed.

The SPEAKER intimated to the gentleman from Georgia where. But they exercised this power, because it was an that he had coupled two motions together, one of which was incident to the power to raise armies. The power to mai and the other was not debatable.

Mr. HARALSON presumed they could be divided, and the question taken first on one and afterwards on the other.

The SPEAKER replied that unless the motions were sepativeen the States, and they had the express power to employ "all the means that were necessary and proper to carry into." "all the means that were necessary and proper to carry in Mr. HARALSON then would moshly his motion by mov- effect the foregoing powers." They had not only constitu ing, first that the message be printed; giving notice that he tional authority to regulate commerce among the States, be old move to lay it on the table if this motion were agreed to. They have power to defend the country in war, and to trans-Mr. BAYLY did not rise to enter into a general discussion port the mails : and they had the express power to employ at of the questions which had been debated there this day, namely, the power of Congress over the subject of internal improvethese powers. And were not roads and canals necessary to mests. He should reserve himself for a more appropriate oc-casion to express his views on that question. But he rose to transport the made? And who but Congress could judge of reply to some positions which he understood the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Vixrox) to have assumed. The gentleman from Ohio had informed them that the President of the United as the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. C. B. Sxith) had said, States, in his message, had stated that but for the interposition of the veto of Gen. Jackson, arresting the system of internal improvements by this Government, the country would have been involved in debt to the amount of \$200,000 000 for improvements which were then contemplated. That he understood to be the point to which the gentleman from Ohio be the point to which the gentleman from Ohio says that he was here the right to build a fort. For this Government, it is conceded, has objected. The gentleman from Ohio says that he was here

which are necessary and proper to secure the transmission of the mail. The military power carried with it the power to make military roads as well as supply cannon and for from one but from several grants of power in the constitution;

then Secretary of War. This board was employed several years in making a national map, with estimates amounting, as the President said, to more than a hundred millions of dollars, for the use of Congress, and which Congress was to take up and carry out, selecting the most important first, from time to time, when surplus means were on hand. But nobody ever dreamed of incurring a debt of one hundred millions of dollars, as was stated in the President's message just read. Nor had this power ever been abused, nor could it ever be abused; for, before any object could be entered upon, it must receive the approval of a majority of the members of this House, and also of the Senate: and no object that was not national in its character could ever receive this high sanction. In this was the great security against the abuse of this power; and hence he contended the danger apprehended by the President was visionary and groundless. Such were briefly his views of the power of this Government over this whole

He would again say that he hoped the motion of the gentleman from Illinois would be withdrawn, that this matter might go to a select committee, to report on the question whether the powers over internal improvements, comprehending our rivers and our harbors, on the lakes and on the seaboard, were alike to be stricken down by the Executive arm; whether these great and salutary powers, exercised from the foundation of the Government, by every Congress and every President, were now to be blotted out forever by the Presidential veto; or whether they were to be retained to confer, as they had conferred, countless benefits and blessings on our com-

that it is not to be wondered at, Mr. Speaker, that we should tive to Congress under any provision or clause in the consti-President, nor why such a message is sent here, and at this particular time. It is "a speech from the throne;" ve literally a speech from the throne, and nothing more nor les It is the Executive argument against internal improvements. elaborately prepared, and then conveniently reserved until some fitting occasion should present itself when that subject was before the House for debate. If there had been any doubt about this cunning purpose of the President, it was made apparent by what transpired when the message was brought in. One gentleman, among the friends of the Executive, (Mr. Taowrson, of Mississippi,) understood at once that the Private Secretary was charged with the delivery of something which "related to the subject-matter now under considera-tion," and so appealed to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Woodward) to yield the floor to Mr. President. And These are the orders from the palace. But will the in-

not possessed by this Government.

Had not this power been exercised from the foundation of Considering this, then, as no more than the Executive speech. Gentlemen might as well tell him that there pared to say that we should raise a select committee to alarm and deter us from making internal improve- the progress of the debate. It seems to me that the but there was no difficulty about contracting debts for should take the ordinary course, and lie upon the table wi there is no action of the House to be required as consequent by the prosecution of his war upon Mexico? And upon it. I have no objection to its being printed, provided in more valuable and important would be the disburse. millions and tens of millions which this war will examine it further. Let us have it in the usual shape for e country which it attacks and denounces.

But there is an additional reason against a reference to a

is true, not immediately on the scaboard,) one from the exmentioned as coming from the extreme Southwest.

burden; and there is no power, where a boat can go in, to do any thing which might let in a schooner!

Hereafter, then, the constitution is to be measured only by line and lead. [A laugh.] A vessel with a deep keel must

your rivers, the bars which obstruct the entrance to your harors, all these are to have extended over them, according to this modern creed of democratic construction, the protecting ægis of the constitution?

I might say something here, Mr. Speaker, on what some Mr. SCHENCK said: The paper which has just been resented from the President is of a character so anomalous, hat it is not to be wondered at, Mr. Speaker, that we should be a sometime of the examples of the examples of the expending a single dollar for works of improvement at home, but it is not to be wondered at, Mr. Speaker, that we should be expending a single dollar for works of improvement at home, but it is not to be wondered at, Mr. Speaker, that we should be expending a single dollar for works of improvement at home, but it is not to be wondered at, Mr. Speaker, that we should be expending a single dollar for works of improvement at home, but it is not to be wondered at, Mr. Speaker, that we should be expending a single dollar for works of improvement at home, but it is not to be wondered at, Mr. Speaker, that we should be expending a single dollar for works of improvement at home, but it is not to be wondered at, Mr. Speaker, that we should be expended by the examples of the examples have some little doubt and discussion as to the most appro-priate disposition to be made of it. It is no veto message. It is not a communication contemplated to be made by the Execu- gotiate with the Government of that Republic (if he can find any there) to secure the right of way across the isthmus of Teance to what seem now, to some of us, very strange and hard prosperity; but we cannot regard her as an instance of the

> common objection, and illustrate what it leads to by one or rously forward. two plain instances. There is the proposed canal around the falls at the Sault Ste. Marie. As the settlements on Lake short and easy of construction as a ship canal at that point, which would so immensely affect the interests of a large section of this Union. It is not only New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and the country generally near the lower lukes, that is to be benefited by such a work, but through them all the commerce of the East, the West, and the whole country. All will be deeply interested in clearing from ob-struction and keeping open any such great avenue of trade and travel. And yet that contemplated work lies all within the State of Michigan, and would be termed local, and not within the purview of national legislation and appropriation.
> And there, also, is the canal around the falls of the Ohio. It lies only in Kentucky, cutting no dividing line of States. But the whole Mississippi valley is deeply interested in that

of six members from the Atlantic States, (some of them, roads and canals-if only they be shown to be works proper and the protection of our commerce. That power, however, for national consideration and undertaking. I am not one of Southwest, and two only out of the nine from the West those other modern constructionists who believe that the con- in the interior but on the seaboard also. Such he understood per. There is in fa t four d upon it but one single member stitution is not amphibious. It has life and energy to pro- to be the conclusions of this message ; such were its objects y we place the hororable gentleman from Louisiana, (Mr. the seacoast, the shores of lakes, or the channels of rivers.

e menti-ned as coming from the extreme Southwest.

But to the message. I regret that I did not hear it more charges that if the system of improvements had been pursued, sincity as it has been read from the Clerk's desk. It struck as conducted under former Administrations, the country would at that time, and that there was no party here that was in favor of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of the purpose of the said all that was then being for the most part a serving up and elaborate presentation to this me-sage, he should use no embittered language towards favoring internal improvements who were willing to borrow the President of the United States. He wished to exercise that right. He demonder of involving this Government in debt for the purpose of them, shall dictate to Congress where to build forte, construct have the most part a serving up and elaborate presentation to the most part a serving up and elaborate presentation of the old arguments against the existence of any power of Congress can judge of the place them. Nor is the position, and, in commenting on the most part as first them, shall dictate to Congress where to build fertate to Congress that there has never been a party the most part as first them, shall dictate to Congress that there has never been a party the most part as first them, shall dictate to Congress that there has never been involved in a debt of two hundred millions. It was most clearly proved that there has never been a party the most part as first them, shall dictate to Congress them, as for as I was allet to gather any thing of the most part as first them, shall dictate to C

whether its internal trade, required that internal improvements should be made.

Now, at that time the Government of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the obst of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States, and not the Persident of the United States, and says that they continue the part of those opposed to time the debt of the United States, and says that they can be the part of those opposed to time the debt of the United States, and says that they can be the United States had not been paid, and, in time the debt of the United States, and says that they can be the part of those opposed to time the debt of the United States, and says that they can be the United States, and says that they can be the part of those opposed to time the debt of the United States, and says that they can be the say revisitions gave them the the state special to the uniter of the United States, and says that they can be the part of the United States, and says that they can be the states proved in time the debt of the United States, and says that they can be the states proved the uniter of the United States, and says that they can be the United States, and says

gentlemen exceedingly, I think, to decide the character and constitutional privileges of one of those centre board veswhether of the lakes or the ocean, instead of a chart, should be provided with a copy of this message, and your man in the bows, as in the approach to land he comes to soundings, The procuring by such means this information is the bows, as in the approach to land he comes to soundings, must heave the lead as before, but instead of the usual sailor cries, "by the deep six"—"by the mark five"—"quarter tistics" of which the gentleman from South Carolina has such less four"—mast cry, "con sti-tu-tion-at — the measures the depth of water over which he is sailing into port, [General merriment.] Then, at that last fearful cry of warning, "Put your helm down hard," will shout Skipper Polk. And so will not only your little venturous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck turous coaster, but the ship of state itself, he saved from wreck the hill sides, with his back, an the hill sides, w

Mr. Speaker, I repeat, this is a rare and new test or uscovery as to constitutional appropriations; and perhaps there may be in this, if in nothing else, an argument for sending the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and allowed the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and allowed the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and allowed the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and allowed the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will lead to other discoveries of views equally novel and the message to a select committee. Perhaps further examination will be a select committee of the message to a selec In truth, we have new at last ascertained what system of for that? He cannot find warrant, it seems, for surveying one of our own magnificent lakes. If it be not altogether with him, are willing to favor. Not protection by providing for the safety of the lines and the property of the people, exposed to the perils of inland or seaboard navigation, any more than protection of their labor by discriminating legislation on another subject; but the snags and rocks, and sandbars in

ercised, if at all, however national the object. And, as I understand the argument, he seeks to prove the efficiency as well comparisons. But it will surprise, I know, the people of the West if we are to understand that the President means to enstitutionality of works of internal improvement. Some decide that there can be no appropriation which is to be expended on any work lying entirely within the limits of a single State.

The debate being resumed on Thursdayis more and more made available, there is no improvement so To reason rightly indicates, in the first place, a well-formed improved one. But to adhere pertinaciously to those opin-ions which were formed early in life, closing the mind to the people of the whole wide country, as well as every farmer the tariff law of 1846, and the annexation of Texas. There rather see this money thus expended prosecution of a war which the Presimilar than it will at once be made public through the news-without consulting Congress, the war-without consulting Congress papers, either in its entire length, or in the form of abstracts of its contents, in cases where editors or printers cannot accommodate the whole of it. For myself I want it to go abroad and be read by the people. I am not afraid of its influence, fitted by the improvement. Why, Mr. Speaker, in one sense the argument contained in this message. Here was a subtor of the issues it makes against those interests and claims of the contents of the constitutional. And pertinactously adhered to them from consciousness of their people in gright; and it was from these considerations and this course in gright; and it was from these considerations and this course of reasoning that he had come to the conclusion to differ from the argument contained in this message. Here was a subtor of the issues it makes against those interests and claims of every work of internal improvement may be said to be local. There is no disputing the truism that every river, every canal, every road, every harbor and bay, must be somewhere. It and boldly to make known to the country what his views war power, could they not be done as an incident of the war power, could they not be done when war was not upon But there is an additional reason against a reference to a select committee, in the pendency of the resolution of my collegue (Mr. Visyons) to substitute for the Committee on Commerce, two committees, one to have charge of foreign commerce and the other of commerce among the States. In case of such separate committees being formed, the committees on commerce among the States would certainly be the proper on commerce among the States would certainly be the proper.

But there is an additional reason against a reference to a select committee. It is and boldly to make known to the country what his views were select committee were. But allegations and assertions did not amount to arrows and reasons. Dogmas, how often soever uttered, the disputation to be affected by them. That is the true test; and if, considered in that light, they are national in their character. I know of no more judicious and wholesome use of the treasure of the message in the dark. Perhaps he had so the proper of the resource, and provide for them. Of this nessage as others, and perhaps from Why might not two dates of the resource of and appropriate one for this reference.

Let me say a word here, Mr. Speaker, as to that proposition of my colleague. He moves that the present Committee on the same sort of discretion which they must exercise in every other instance of the use of power the understanding of it as any other gentleman; and, if they must exercise in every other instance of the use of power the understanding of it as any other gentleman; and, if they must exercise in every other instance of the use of power the understanding of this message. my colleague. He moves that the present Committee on they must exercise in every other instance of the use of power on the Lakes? On that thinly-restled and ill-protected from two most of the moves that the Executive gave to Contact, and would create an entirely new committee for forthere is nothing to be justly called latitudinarian or dangerous. States, and would create an entirely new committee for foreign commerce. At a proper time I shall move an amendin the opinion, as applied to this or any kindred subject.

gress a total denial of the power—of the power of either House,
or of the two Houses combined, or of the General Government ment providing that directly the reverse be the organization and arrangement of those two committees; that the committees; that the committees are the committee on foreign committee on foreign committees, and the new one to be raised the committee on committees. Neither, do I desire to see the interests of the East ree, and the new one to be raised the committee on commerce among the States. I find cause for this in the consiland the West or the South separated, or treated as if antagonot exist in the General Government. Once he had undersanction appropriations for lighthouses, which are to aid comon of the present committee, without disparagement of the nistic to each other. On the contrary, I deprecate any such stood the President of these United States to be in favor of the present committee, without disparagement of the mistic to each other. On the contrary, I deprecate any such that it is made to each other thing be done too? If lighthouses and beacons sent. Looking at its composition it will be seen that it is made to each other thing be done too? If lighthouses and beacons sent. Looking at its composition it will be seen that it is made to each other thing be done too? If lighthouses and beacons could be erected to guide commercial vessels into particular was now denied by this message, as he understood, not only essining country on the Mississippi, the I would contract no debt for these works. My colleague the right to make any improvements was to deny a right which dace on the Committee on Commerce, and whom I have bevoice argue on this subject, and it seemed to him that there was no distinction drawn between power and prudence-between a right and the ability to exercise that right. He de-

burden; and there is no power, where a boat can go in, to do any thing which might let in a schooner!

Hereafter, then, the constitution is to be measured only by line and lead. [A laugh.] A vessel with a deep keel must take care lest it run against one of these constitutional shoals; but one of your flat-bottomed coasters might get into the same harbor and ride securely under the protection of the supreme law, the great organic law of the United States. It would bother gentlemen exceedingly, I think, to decide the character and constitutional privileges of one of those centre board vessary land constitutional privileges of one of those centre board vessary land constitutional privileges of one of those centre board vessary land constitutional privileges of one of those centre board vessary land constitutional privileges of one of those centre board vessary land through the Executive, or in any department of self was, that, where power existed in the constitution does not authorize it, it did not follow that another far West—in that new proposed territory of Minesota, and the great wilderness south of Lake Superior. Why are they of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency, but of power. He was not a question of expediency. sels to be found on the lakes and in the bays on the Atlantic coast, in which the constitution could be let up or down [laughter] at the pleasure of the navigator. Hereafter all vessels that navigate along the shores of the United States, self was, that, where power existed in the constitution over post roads. It was necessary to have a place in which to transact the business of the Post Office Department. And again, if no power existed to employ a mail carrier, because there was no specific grant of such power, the authority would exist to establish post offices and post roads, but there

predecessors erected this stately mansion for the meetings of Congress, but, according to the doctrine now maintained, it not to have been erected. What but extravagance brought those marble pillars here, and the other marble de-corations about this spacious hall? Coarser material would have answered the same purpose. Now, was it really true that they had no power to make a building at all, lest they should be extravagant and involve themselves in debt? But, in the fulness of time, when our population shall have increased, the resources of this country shall have been developed, and we shall have become the greatest, the happiest, and the wealthiest country on earth, who shall say that this Gov-

Dead Sea fruits, which we are told look fair to the eye out turn to ashes on the lip, like many of the fruits of the modern Democracy which he professes.

All the powers needed for works of improvement, says the President, are with the States, and by them only should be exthe means to exercise that power were necessarily incidenta to it Here in the constitution, in a few words, it was said Congress should have power to declare war, but there was no power given to make peace. Power was given to raise and maintain armies, but where is the authority to clothe them? Was it not necessarily indicated? If it were not so, how could they arm the soldiers they had the power to raise Must they continue to use the old guns which were borne in the revolutionary war? By what power could this Governthe to Congress there any provision or class in the constitution. His objections to a river and harbor bill passed by the
fast Congress are made the pretext for sending his views here
how to us in this shape—to us, a different Congress, who can
now to us in this shape—to us, a different Congress, who can
engage in no legislation having reference to that bill. And
yet it is not hard to understand the intention and object of the
yet it is not hard to understand the intention and object of the

West it we are to understand that the Frestont means to enforce his view of the better plan and system of improvement
by the example of Virginia, for instance. God bless the Old
by the example of Virginia, for instance. God bless the Old
by the example of Virginia, for instance. On the best history
of our common country, and I wish her all prosperity; but
yet it is not hard to understand that interference to that bill. And
yet it is not hard to understand that the Frestont means to enforce his view of the better plan and system of improvement
by the example of Virginia, for instance. God bless the Old
by the example of virginia, for instance. God bless the Old
by the example of our common country, and I wish her all prosperity; but
we can hardly be persuaced to take her, with her abstractions
of our common country, and I wish her all prosperity; but
we can hardly be persuaced to take her, with her abstractions Again, how could they build large and magnificent fortifica-"Halls of the Montezumas," coming here to take their upon these great questions, and her practical working under them, as our guide. There is not a State in the Union more haps teach us thick tongued Anglo-Saxons to give due utternecessary appliances to enable this Government to carry out words. And he was more particularly anxious about it, as he enjoyed the distinguished honor of being chairman of the public works. Perhaps it may be that we are too utilitarian specifically given. If this modern doctrine were correct, he he enjoyed the distinguished honor of being chairman of the Committee on Roads and Canals, and, for aught he knew, in my part of the country. Born in the West and educated would ask by what power given by the constitution they were that part of the message might yet be referred to that committee. I regard too highly a spirit of progressive energy, stimulating From that other executive light, the second officer in the Government, the public has learned that this right of way over the isthmus is wanted for the purpose of digging a canal. And now here is a President who cannot let our little coasting vestruction of the powers of the General Government. The Virnitions of war at Harper's Ferry and other places, but by nitions of war at Harper's Ferry and other places, but by sels go along the shores of our States without a risk of their stranding on the constitution, but who is able to overleap a in speculation upon and opposition to the exercise of what he of the Union? Could they employ carts and railroads for quarter of the continent and find authority to dig a canal to conceives to be doubtful powers. His political emblem, per- their transportation to the places where the soldiers stood ready connect the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans!

And now a word about one of those other tests of the con-

constitution to the General Government to clear out rivers and Such work, they say, is necessarily local. Let me meet this afford firm ground from which to leap again and more vigo- harbors, or remove a log from a road; that this must be done by the individual States. Well, suppose then, in the transmission of munitions of war through one of those States which Mr. PETTIT said that he wished to detain the House was eternally opposing the war, it should be found that a road Superior increase, and the great mineral wealth of that region only for a short time. To reason was the province of man. was blocked up by logs; the State refusing to remove the ob structions and the General Government without constitutional intellect; and, in the second place, a highly-cultivated and power to do it, what was to be done? This was a plain and familiar illustration, but it was one which clearly showed that, it the positions now assumed were correct, in time of war our light of experience, was characteristic of the dogmatist, and cities on the seaboard might be beaten down into ruins, because was unworthy of an intelligent being. The position which he occupied on the question involved in this message was to unpleasant one; for, of all things, it was most plea- else. It was granted that they had power to make guns of sant for him to agree with those with whom he desired to agree—with those of whose course he had an intense and ardent desire to approve. Nothing but the sternest dictates of the whore they were made? They had certainly no continuous descriptions, and had they not power to make guns of various descriptions, and had they not power to make guns of various descriptions, and had they not power to make guns of various descriptions, and had they not power to make guns of various descriptions, and had they not power to make guns of various descriptions, and had they not power to make guns of various descriptions, and had they not power to make guns of various descriptions, and had they not power to make guns of various descriptions, and had they not power to make guns of various descriptions. duty-settled, as he thought, on well-founded considerations- stitutional authority to remove them, according to these modern had brought him to differ from the conclusions and reasonings constructions of that instrument, if they could have nothing of the message under consideration. If any one man more than another had ardently wished and laboriously exerted himwork; and the Mississippi valley is the granary of the Union. self to bring into power the present incumbent of the Executive chair, he might claim that for himself, though probably rivers, for there was nothing about that in the constitution. hemp, and all the rich productions which float down the Onio from upper Kentucky and Indiana, from Ohio, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, pay tribute to that canal. The tariff of tolls imposed there is laid upon every package of all the vastamount in the constitution in the constitution. Frequently men and arms were shipped from Pittsburg down there any member of this House that more cordially agreed with the Administration in all its prominent measures than the constitution. Frequently men and arms were shipped from Pittsburg down there any member of this House that more cordially agreed with the Administration in all its prominent measures than the constitution. Frequently men and arms were shipped from Pittsburg down there any member of this House that more cordially agreed with the Administration in all its prominent measures than the constitution. Frequently men and arms were shipped from Pittsburg down there any member of this House that more cordially agreed with the Administration in all its prominent measures than the constitution. of merchandise ascending to the upper country; upon all the sugar, cotton, and other staples of the South. Is not the sures in regard to our commercial relations, our impost duties, Government to wait until some State authority should clear and trader in the interior States, interested in having that was no man there that would give a heartier and more cordial the course for the passage of the vessel and our troops, that channel of commerce made a free national thotoughfare support to the war which we are and have been waging, and they might meet the well-organized arms of Mexico? Such Then the navigable waters of the Maumee river and bay, in which thus far had resulted to the glory of our arms and the Northwestern Ohio, they say, must not be improved, because honor of our country. In these things he was an ordent and sage come precisely to that. Gentlemen might say that, in lying altogether within the limits of my State. Yet, if the consistent supporter of the Administration. Others might an emergency, the Government might exercise this power; lines of the States into which the Northwestern territory was divided had been run cast and west, instead of north and south, as they are; or if the border difficulty between Ohio bimself to be a supporter of the Administration in all its pro

had left them the advice "in time of peace to prepare for war," and if these things could be done as an incident of the

sanction appropriations for lightheuses, which are to aid com-merce? If one thing could be done to aid commerce, could channels, could not obstructions be removed from those channels to which the vessels were directed

At this point of Mr. PETTIT's remarks, and before he had concluded them, he was interrupted by a message from the Senate formally announcing the death of the Hon. Jessa SPEIGHT, late a Senstor from the State of Mississippi, who died at his residence during the recess of Congress; upon, after a brief enlogy of the deceased by Mr. Thompson, Mi-sissippi, the House passed the customary resolutions of respect and then adjourned.

The Senate's proceedings of Thursday presented nothing of particular interest beyond the announcement of the event little done in the House except the annunciation of the death of the Hon Grones C. Dromoours, hate a Representative from Virginia, who also died at his residence during the re-